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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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USNMR SHAPE
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CINC USAREUR HEIDELBERG
CINC USAFE RAMSTEIN

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 05 BONN 05954

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MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: MPOL MILI MNUC PARM GW OVIP (BROWN, HAROLD)
SUBJECT: EMBASSY COMMENTS ON POSSIBLE AGENDA ITEMS FOR
THE FORMAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN SECRETARY BROWN
AND MINISTER APEL IN BONN ON APRIL 13

REFS: (A) BONN 5948 DTG031703Z APR 78
(B) BONN 5305 DTG 221805Z MAR 78
(C) BONN 5290 DTG 221712Z MAR 78

BEGIN SUMMARY: WE SEE THE MEETING BETWEEN SECRETARY BROWN AND MINISTER APEL AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE TWO MEN TO BECOME ACQUAINTED, AS WELL AS AN OCCASION FOR THE SECRETARY TO EXPLAIN CURRENT US STRATEGIC THINKING AND SEEK FRG SUPPORT FOR MAJOR ALLIANCE PROGRAMS. THIS CABLE CONTAINS EMBASSY VIEWS ON A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES
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WHICH WE ASSUME ARE LIKELY CANDIDATES FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN SECRETARY BROWN AND MINISTER APEL DURING THEIR MEETING. END SUMMARY.

1. THIS MESSAGE SETS FORTH EMBASSY COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON A LIST OF ITEMS WHICH WE BELIEVE WOULD LEND THEMSELVES TO DISCUSSION BETWEEN SECRETARY

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BROWN AND MINISTER APEL IN BONN ON THE AFTERNOON OF APRIL 13. OUR AIM IS NOT TO ANALYZE EACH ISSUE THOROUGHLY, BUT RATHER TO PRESENT GENERAL CONCEPTS WHICH SECRETARY BROWN MIGHT FIND USEFUL AS HE PREPARES FOR THE DISCUSSIONS IN BONN.

2. THE POSSIBLE AGENDA ITEMS FOLLOW:

THE GENERAL STRATEGIC SITUATION

3. IT WOULD BE HIGHLY USEFUL FOR SECRETARY BROWN TO PRESENT MINISTER APEL AT THE START WITH THE BROAD OUTLINE OF CURRENT US STRATEGIC THINKING. THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL BECAUSE THE TWO MEN WILL BE MEETING FOR THE FIRST TIME AND BECAUSE APEL IS A NEWCOMER TO THE DEFENSE ARENA. WE DO NOT SUGGEST A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE STRATEGIC BALANCE, WHICH WE THINK WOULD MORE PROPERLY TAKE PLACE DURING THE APRIL 18-19 MEETING OF THE NPG IN DENMARK. INSTEAD, WHAT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL, AS A KEYNOTE TO THE SECRETARY'S FULL PRESENTATION, WOULD BE A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSE AND ARMS NEGOTIATIONS CONCEPTS. IN THIS REGARD, THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN MOST CONCERNED ABOUT THE THEATRE NUCLEAR BALANCE.

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ARMS CONTROL QUESTIONS (SALT, GRAY AREAS, MBFR)

4. WE SEE NO REASON - AND THERE WOULD BE NO TIME - FOR MORE THAN A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THESE QUESTIONS. ON SALT, OUR RECENT RECORD OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GERMANS HAS BEEN GOOD, AND THIS IS APPRECIATED BY THE FRG. HOWEVER, THE GERMAN SIDE IS LIKELY TO URGE IN THE TALKS WITH SECDEF, AS IT HAS IN THE PAST, THAT WE NEGOTIATE SALT IN SUCH A WAY THAT STRATEGIC NUCLEAR PARITY IS NOT PURCHASED AT THE EXPENSE OF THEATRE NUCLEAR BALANCE. GERMAN CONCERN OVER THE GRAY AREAS, PARTICULARLY THE SS-20, AND BACKFIRE IS REAL AND GROWING, AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT APEL WILL SPECIFICALLY RAISE THIS POINT. OUR NATO PROPOSALS HAVE, IN FRG EYES, APPROPRI-ATELY STRENGTHENED THE CONVENTIONAL BALANCE, BUT NOT MET THE GROWING SOVIET THEATRE NUCLEAR CHALLENGE.

5. AS REGARDS MBFR, BOTH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND MINISTER APEL ARE A BIT UNEASY OVER THE SLOW PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS. APEL REMARKED TO THE AMBASSADOR ON MARCH 21 THAT SOME DIPLOMATS APPEARED TO BE "MAKING A CAREER" OUT OF MBFR. THE CHANCELLOR APPARENTLY FEELS THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE,

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BOTH IN A DOMESTIC FRG POLITICAL AND OSTPOLITIK CONTEXT, TO ALLOW THE NEGOTIATIONS TO CONTINUE INDEFINITELY WITH NO RESULT. THOUGH THE GERMANS HAVE NO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR ADVANCING THE TALKS, APEL WILL BE INTERESTED IN A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE OF MBFR.

NATO PLANNING

(A) AWACS

6. AWACS WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND TOPICAL ITEMS ON THE AGENDA, AND ONE WHERE THE PERSONAL DIPLOMACY OF SECRETARY BROWN COULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL.

7. AS INDICATED IN REF C, APEL HAS RAISED WITH THE AMBASSADOR THE POSSIBILITY OF POSTPONING GERMAN PARTICI-PATION IN AWACS FOR UP TO TWO YEARS BECAUSE OF FUNDING

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DIFFICULTIES. APEL EMPHASIZED TO THE AMBASSADOR THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE OPPOSITION TO AWACS IN THE BUNDESTAG BECAUSE OF THE HIGH COST AND A MOOD WITHIN THE BUNDESTAG THAT MORE MOVEMENT ON THE "TWO-WAY STREET" WOULD BE REQUIRED PRIOR TO APPROVAL OF GERMAN PARTICI-PATION IN THE NATO AEW SYSTEMS.

8. OUR LATEST INFORMATION IS THAT THE AWACS PACKAGE IS LIKELY TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE BUNDESTAG DEFENSE AND BUDGET COMMITTEES ON APRIL 12, THE DAY BEFORE SECRETARY BROWN ARRIVES. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE PACKAGE WILL BE REVIEWED BY THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE IN THE MORNING AND BY THE BUDGET COMMITTEE IN THE AFTERNOON. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEFENSE MINISTRY WILL TESTIFY IN FAVOR OF FRG PARTICIPATION IN THE SYSTEM. GENERAL ALTENBURG, HEAD OF THE DEFENSE MINISTRY'S OFFICE OF POLITICAL/MILITARY AFFAIRS, HAS TOLD US THAT MINISTER APEL INTENDS TO APPEAR PERSONALLY BEFORE THE COMMITTEES ON APRIL 12, DESPITE HIS BROKEN LEG, TO DELIVER STRONG TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF AWACS.

9. TO OBTAIN APPROVAL OF GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN AWACS, A SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE IN FAVOR IS REQUIRED IN EACH COMMITTEE. OUR CONTACTS ARE NOT WILLING TO PREDICT HOW THE VOTING WILL GO, BUT THEY CONSIDER IT UNLIKELY THAT A DECISION WILL BE REACHED ON THE FIRST DAY THE COMMITTEES CONSIDER THE QUESTION.

10. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR SECRETARY BROWN TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING FUNDAMENTAL POINTS:

A. AWACS PROVIDES THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY TO MEET THE

LOW-LEVEL THREAT ADEQUATELY, AND IT IS THUS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE FOR THE SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE. ITS VERY EXISTENCE WILL CONTRIBUTE GREATLY TO DETERRENCE AND WILL BE AN IMPORTANT INDICATION OF ALLIANCE COHESION.

B. FAILURE OF THE PROGRAM AT THIS JUNCTURE COULD JEOPARDIZE THE ENTIRE LONG-TERM PROGRAM BY CALLING INTO QUESTION THE SURVIVABILITY OF OTHER ALLIANCE CAPABILITIES.

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C. A DELAY IN GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN AWACS WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE US GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND, AFTER ALL WE HAVE BEEN THROUGH, GIVEN GERMANY'S MAJOR ROLE IN THE ALLIANCE AND ITS EXPOSED POSITION IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO THE POTENTIAL ADVERSARY.

D. THE US GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO WORK WITH THE FRG BILATERALLY AND IN NATO TO RESOLVE ANY PROBLEMS THAT MAY REMAIN IN THE AEW PACKAGE. WE HAVE ALSO MADE ARRANGE-MENTS TO CONCENTRATE GERMAN COSTS TOWARD THE LATER YEARS OF THE PROGRAM, IN RECOGNITION OF THE FRG'S TIGHT BUDGET BEFORE 1981.

E. THE US GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE VIGOROUSLY TO SUPPORT LOCATING THE AWACS MAIN OPERATING BASE IN THE FRG.

(B) NATO LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

11. APEL TOLD THE AMBASSADOR ON MARCH 21 THAT THE FRG WOULD PROBABLY FULFILL UP TO 90 PERCENT OF ITS PART OF THE NATO LTDP. HE SAID THAT "IF WE PROMISE THE REMAIN-ING 10 PERCENT, THE QUESTION IS WHERE THE MONEY WILL COME FROM." GENERAL ALTENBURG TOLD US ON MARCH 31 THAT APEL WAS NOT INTERESTED IN BEING PRESSED ANY FURTHER BY

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THE US ON THIS SUBJECT. WE ASSUME THAT SECRETARY BROWN WILL NEVERTHELESS WISH TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF MAXIMUM FRG SUPPORT FOR THE LTDP AND FOR ADOPTION OF A MEANINGFUL PROGRAM AT THE NATO SUMMIT.

TWO-WAY STREET AND CO-PRODUCTION

12. WHATEVER SECRETARY BROWN COULD DO TO SOFTEN GERMAN SKEPTICISM OVER THE STATE OF THE "TWO-WAY STREET" WOULD BE HIGHLY USEFUL, PARTICULARLY IN THE IMMEDIATE CONTEXT OF AWACS. ALTHOUGH THE GERMANS VIEW THE RECENT TANK GUN DECISION AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT, THERE IS A DEEPLY ENGRAINED CONVICTION, PARTICULARLY IN THE BUNDESTAG, THAT MUCH MORE IS REQUIRED. WE SUGGEST THAT SECRETARY BROWN UNDERSCORE THE VALUE OF THE TANK GUN DECISION AND ALSO THAT HE POINT TO THE RECENTLY ANNOUNCED DOD PROGRAM FOR THE PROCUREMENT OF GERMAN NON-TACTICAL VEHICLES FOR USE BY US FORCES IN GERMANY.

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IN FACT, WE THINK THE GERMANS HAVE NOT SUFFICIENTLY APPRECIATED THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TANK GUN DECISION. THE SECRETARY MAY WANT TO REEMPHASIZE ITS IMPORTANCE, AND POINT TO OUR DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE PROGRESS ON THE "TWO-WAY STREET."

13. THE GERMANS ARE OF COURSE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN A US PURCHASE, OR LEASE, OF GEPARDS. ANY HOPE THAT COULD BE HELD OUT ON THIS SCORE, PARTICULARLY IF IT COULD BE COMMUNICATED TO THE BUNDESTAG, MIGHT VERY SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCE THE FORTUNES OF AWACS.

14. IT MIGHT ALSO BE USEFUL FOR SECRETARY BROWN TO POINT OUT THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE IS CAREFULLY STUDYING THE POSSIBLE PROCUREMENT OF GERMAN TACTICAL VEHICLES (10-TON, 5-TON, AND 2-TON TRUCKS, JEEPS) FOR USE BY US FORCES IN GERMANY. (WE UNDERSTAND THAT A TEAM TO STUDY THE FEASIBILITY OF SUCH PROCUREMENT WILL BE IN THE FRG FROM APRIL 3 THROUGH MAY 19.)

15. ON CO-PRODUCTION, WASHINGTON MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER WHAT, IF ANYTHING, COULD BE DONE DURING THE BROWN-APEL MEETING AS REGARDS THE DRAFT US-FRG UMBRELLA MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING THE "PRINCIPLES GOVERNING MUTUAL COOPERATION IN THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND PROCUREMENT OF DEFENSE EQUIPMENT." IF THIS MOU IS NOT YET RIPE FOR SIGNATURE, IT MIGHT AT LEAST BE APPROPRIATE FOR SECRETARY BROWN AND MINISTER

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APEL TO AGREE ON THE NEED TO EXPEDITE THE SIGNATURE OF THIS DOCUMENT. THEY MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER SETTING A TARGET DATE FOR RESOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION.

HOST NATION SUPPORT AND POMCUS

16. IN THE GERMAN MIND, THE TERM "HOST NATION SUPPORT" CAN INCLUDE AT LEAST THREE ELEMENTS: (1) THE "USAREUR - AN ARMY DEPLOYED" (UAD) CONCEPT, (2) THE PROVISION OF POMCUS SITES/FACILITIES; AND (3) THE PROVISION OF SUPPORT (FUEL, HOSPITAL BEDS, ETC.) FOR US FORCES WHICH WOULD DEPLOY TO GERMANY IN AN EMERGENCY.

17. THE TIME IS CLEARLY NOT RIPE FOR A DISCUSSION OF UAD AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL, SINCE THE CONCEPT IS STILL BEING STUDIED WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND HAS NOT YET BEEN OFFICIALLY CONVEYED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND OTHER AGENCIES FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION. WE DOUBT THAT THE GERMANS WILL RAISE THIS ITEM, BUT IF THEY DO WE SUGGEST THAT THE US SIDE TAKE THE POSITION THAT THE MATTER IS NOT YET READY FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS.

18. ON GERMAN PROVISION OF POMCUS SITES/FACILITIES, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT SECRETARY BROWN EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION FOR THE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE WHICH THE DEFENSE MINISTRY IS SHOWING IN CONNECTION WITH THE ACQUISITION OF POMCUS SITES IN NORTHAG FOR ONE DIVISION'S EQUIPMENT. HE MIGHT UNDERSCORE THAT THE PROMPT AND TIMELY ACQUISITION OF THESE SITES IS ESSENTIAL TO THE ENTIRE CONCEPT OF THE NEW UNITED STATES PERMANENT DEPLOYMENTS INTO NORTHAG.

(NOTE: THE DEFENSE MINISTRY HAS ALREADY APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE THE RELEASE TO THE US OF POMCUS SITES AT MOENCHEN-GLADBACH, HERONGEN AND TWISTEDEN, BUT THE FORMALITIES OF ACTUAL ACQUISITION ARE STILL UNDERWAY. THESE THREE SITES WOULD ACCOMODATE POMCUS FOR ONE

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DIVISION, OF WHICH THE BRIGADE AT GARLSTEDT WOULD BE
THE PERMANENT ADVANCE ELEMENT IN GERMANY. IF TWO
ADDITIONAL BRIGADES ARE ULTIMATELY DEPLOYED PERMANENTLY
TO NORTHAG - AS USAREUR TENTATIVELY ENVISIONS - SIX
ADDITIONAL POMCUS SITES WOULD BE REQUIRED IN SUPPORT
OF THE TWO DIVISIONS BACKING UP THESE TWO BRIGADES.
THE GERMANS ARE NOT OFFICIALLY REPEAT OFFICIALLY AWARE
OF THE TENTATIVE CONCEPT OF THREE PERMANENT BRIGADES
IN NORTHAG.)

19. AS REGARDS THE PROVISION OF HOST NATION SUPPORT
FOR US FORCES WHICH WOULD DEPLOY TO GERMANY IN AN
EMERGENCY, OUR DEFENSE MINISTRY CONTACTS TELL US
UNOFFICIALLY THAT THE FRG WOULD BE MORE FORTHCOMING
ON MAKING FIRM COMMITMENTS IF THE US COULD PROVIDE A
DEFINITIVE STATEMENT OF WHICH US UNITS WOULD IN FACT
DEPLOY AND WHAT THEIR EXACT REQUIREMENTS WOULD BE.
SECRETARY BROWN AND HIS PARTY MIGHT WISH TO KEEP THIS
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GERMAN VIEW IN MIND IN PREPARING FOR DISCUSSION OF
THIS ISSUE.

PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE US FORCES AND THE BUNDESPOST

20. AS A RESULT OF INTERVENTIONS WITH THE FOREIGN
OFFICE AND THE POSTAL MINISTRY, THERE HAS RECENTLY BEEN
SOME MOTION TOWARD POSSIBLE RESOLUTION OF THE MANIFOLD

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PROBLEMS WHICH THE US FORCES IN GERMANY HAVE BEEN EXPERIENCING WITH THE BUNDESPOST. NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR SECRETARY BROWN TO MENTION THESE ISSUES TO MINISTER APEL IN A GENERAL WAY, IN ORDER TO SOLICIT APEL'S SUPPORT VIS-A-VIS THE POSTAL MINISTRY AND THE BUNDESPOST IN THE INTEREST OF ASSURING ESSENTIAL COMMUNICATIONS SERVICES FOR OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE MISSION.

21. THE ISSUES ARE TECHNICALLY AND LEGALLY COMPLEX AND INVOLVE A VARIETY OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS PROBLEMS, MOST OF WHICH STEM IN OUR VIEW FROM CONFLICTING INTER-PRETATIONS OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT TO THE NATO STATUS OF FORCES AGREEMENT. THE DISPUTES HAVE DELAYED THE CONNECTION OF A VITAL SWITCHBOARD AT RHEIN-MAIN AIR BASE AND ARE PREVENTING AGREEMENT ON A HOOK-UP OF THE TELEPHONE FACILITIES AT GARLSTEDT. DISAGREEMENT OVER RATES FOR LONG DISTANCE LINES INVOLVE OTHER SENDING STATES AND SIZEABLE AMOUNTS OF MONEY. STILL TO BE AGREED ARE MODALITIES FOR THE MULTIMILLION DOLLAR EUROPEAN TELEPHONE SYSTEM.

22. WITHOUT GOING INTO SPECIFICS, WE RECOMMEND THAT SECRETARY BROWN MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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APEL IS PROBABLY AWARE OF THE CONSIDERABLE US GOVERNMENT CONCERN WITH THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE UNITED STATES FORCES AND THOSE OF THE OTHER SENDING STATES WITH THE BUNDESPOST DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. WE WELCOME RECENT INDICATIONS THAT THE BUNDESPOST AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE ARE WILLING TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS AT MEETINGS WITH THE US AND OTHER SENDING STATES. AT THOSE MEETINGS WE HOPE THE BUNDESPOST WILL PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE US AND OTHER SENDING STATES FORCES' REQUIREMENTS FOR BUNDESPOST SERVICES AND FACILITIES ARE DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE COMMON DEFENSE

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EFFORT. MOREOVER, WE HOPE THAT MINISTER APEL WILL BE ABLE, VIS-A-VIS THE BUNDESPOST, TO SUPPORT OUR BASIC VIEW THAT WE NEED NOT, AND INDEED CANNOT, INCUR COSTS FOR SERVICES AND EQUIPMENT THAT ARE EXCESSIVE OR UN-NECESSARY AND WHICH WOULD DIVERT SCARCE DEFENSE FUNDS FROM LEGITIMATE DEFENSE PURPOSES. WE ASK ALSO THAT MINSITER APEL SEEK TO ENSURE THAT THE BUNDESPOST CONTINUE TO PROVIDE ESSENTIAL SERVICES TO THE FORCES EVEN WHILE DISCUSSIONS TAKE PLACE ON A POLITICAL LEVEL. WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT THE RHEIN-MAIN SWITCHBOARD BE ACTIVATED IMMEIDATELY, ESPECIALLY SINCE THIS FACILITY WILL BE ESSENTIAL IN SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP IN JULY.

THE NATO SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON

23. WE RECOMMEND THAT SECRETARY BROWN SET FORTH THE BROAD OUTLINES OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
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BELIEVES SHOULD BE ACHIEVED AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT. WE DO NOT SEE THE MEETING WITH APEL AS AN OCCASION FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION OF PLANS FOR THE SUMMIT. IF THIS SHOULD BE THE FINAL AGENDA ITEM, A DISCUSSION OF THE SUMMIT WOULD END THE MEETING ON AN UP-BEAT AND FORWARD-LOOKING NOTE.
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